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one particularly well-built and energetic young man who was still unmarried would have difficulty in procuring a young woman as a wife because his organ was known to be undersized. His father had been concerned about it even when he was a child and had attempted to remedy the situation by massage. On another occasion some women were discussing an ailing boy of two years. They handled his genitals and shook their heads with concern because the male organs were so flaccid. Circumcision is known as a coastal, Mohammedan practice, but it is not followed by the mountain people. Fantan the interpreter reported overhearing a conversation between two middle-aged women who were comparing the virility of their husbands. One complained that her husband was no longer able to give her sexual satisfaction.

The terms dealing with sexual activities offer two very interesting points in connection with the thesis that sex and food are inextricably associated in the minds of the Arimelangers.

male organs—*hatok* (his intestine)
female organs—*hoiy* (also verbal form for copulate)
organs—*homie ve meli* (heart from it tasty)
male hermaphrodite—*hatok muri* (his intestine orange)
female hermaphrodite—*hoiy muri* (vagina orange)
philanderer—*tafui* (crab)
illegitimate child—*tafui ui* (crab child)
uvula—*kai hoiy hika* (head clitoris)

Of this list perhaps the most interesting features are that the male genitals are associated with his digestive system and that an orgasm is described with a food adjective.

Homosexuality seems to be absent among adults, although again the practice was known among the troops and prisoners on the coast. The attitude is one of not quite understanding why such practices should be desirable rather than one of disapproval. Inquiries into the matter usually precipitated anecdotes about a hermaphrodite from Dkiempe who had died some twenty years before. One of the most complete accounts, which reveals social attitudes toward such a person, as well as toward the two sexes, was given by his grandnephew who had lived with him.

"When Alorkaomi was still small, he was a woman called Tilaomi. People would look at him and say, 'This is like a woman but in the middle is a penis.' He wore a woman's loincloth and learned to weave baskets. He even wove areca baskets, which are the most difficult to make. He went to dances and joined in with the women. As he grew up his breasts got big, and men would tug them. Men liked him. He did

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238 not hang back or seem ashamed. He was very lucky at raising pigs, so a man from Atimelang wanted to marry him. He too wanted to marry that man. So the man from Atimelang paid a two-dollar-and-fifty-cent moko for him and tried to sleep with him but could not. Then the man said to Alurkaseni's brother, 'I won't have children if I stay with him, so you had better pay back my moko.'

"After that they changed him into a man. He was about twelve then. His older brothers taught him to shoot and make war. When he was just learning, people laughed at him but soon he was very skillful and then people didn't laugh at him any more. People would test him. They would send him to cut beams. With just a few strokes on both sides of a tree, he would fell it. Then people would say, 'This is a very strong man.' He was brave and would lead war parties. He became a killer (*bibi*, a title of distinction). Once when a man slept with his nephew's wife, he led all the other kin in avenging the matter by going out into the adulterer's field, chopping down his crop, and burning down his house.

"He built himself a house and lived alone. He worked in the fields and cooked for himself. He could pound rice just like a woman.

"When he was middle aged, people said, 'He should not be single. Let's give him a widow.' So they gave him Kolmani, who already had grown children. He wanted to sleep with her and she wanted to sleep with him, but he couldn't. She was happy to stay with him anyhow. He just bought her in vain. He paid her bride-price and gave her parents' death feasts for her."

241 In connection with sex behavior and attitudes there are some further topics that deserve comment. Women's menstrual periods have already been referred to as passing with a minimum of observances and notice. The only terms for menses that I procured were euphemistic ones, "my friend" or "headache." In a subsequent section it will be seen that the monthly flow is attributed to the breaking of egglike structures in the breast, which are then discharged. Women use dry, porous banana bark as pads. These are then thrown away in some distant place. No one is supposed to see them, not even a kinswoman. During her periods a woman should wear a shawl that covers her body more completely and prevents any possible detection of stains on her loincloth. The number of days between periods is not known. Instead a woman approximates the onset of her periods by the recurrence of the phase of the moon during which her last period occurred. The cessation of menses is recognized as the beginning of pregnancy. During menstruation women are not supposed to feel sexual desires and similarly men

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have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rivalries among themselves accentuated. In Alorese culture the oldest sibling undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so. Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gardens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again one of inconsistency and confusion. Whereas the child is masturbated as a palliative, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would expect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power, are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not known either among women or men. The breast retains a high erogenous value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrepresentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impermanence of everything, the constant change of abode that prevents the growth of a sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situation in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertiveness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, adumbrating many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,